DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 324 181 RC 017 792

AUTHOR Bell, John L.
TITLE Lawrence A. Oxley and Social Services for Blacks in North Carolina's Appalachian Counties.
PUB DATE Mar 90
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the Appalachian Studies Conference (Helen, GA, March 23-25, 1990).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black History; Black Leadership; *Blacks; Racial Attitudes; *Racial Relations; *Social Agencies; Social Services; *State Agencies
IDENTIFIERS Appalachia; *North Carolina; *Oxley (Lawrence A)

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the history of the organization of statewide social services and activities of the Division of Work among Negroes in the Appalachian counties. From 1925-1934--its first 9 years--North Carolina's Division of Work among Negroes was directed by Lawrence Oxley. This agency was established to study black social problems and to help blacks organize locally to solve them. The first such state agency for blacks in the United States, the Division became a model of its type, securing black social workers in 40 counties, improved hospital care, prison reform, and unemployment relief during the depression. Almost half of the blacks in North Carolina's Appalachian counties lived in Buncombe County, and Ashville--the county seat--became the focal point of Oxley's work in Appalachia. The racial attitudes of mountain whites, especially county officials, were a major problem. Accordingly, the Division's activities in Appalachia came to involve mediation of racial conflict, support for anti-lynching measures, advocacy of better treatment for blacks in the criminal justice system, inclusion of mountain blacks on state advisory committees, securing the employment of black social workers, and encouraging local unemployment relief. Oxley also encouraged the development of statewide social services open to Appalachian blacks. These included training schools, an orthopedic hospital, and social work education. This paper contains approximately 26 end notes. (SV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

John L. Bell

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ED324181

LAWRENCE A. OXLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICES FOR BLACKS IN NORTH CAROLINA'S APPALACHIAN COUNTIES

By John L. Bell

A remarkable event occurred in North Carolina in 1925: the creation of the Division of Work Among Negroes. Housed within the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, this agency's purpose was to study black social problems, help blacks organize local social work agencies, and to support needed state-wide agencies for blacks. This Division of Work Among Negroes was the first such state agency in the United States, and it became a model of its type. It secured black social workers in forty counties, encouraged the formation of charitable organizations, secured improved hospital care, mediated racial conflicts, pressed for prison reform, fought lynching, sought improved child care, helped wayward juveniles, enforced school attendance laws, and sponsored unemployment relief in the depression. Although the Appalachian counties of North Carolina had few blacks, this Division was active in Buncombe County. The purpose of this paper is to examine the organization of statewide social services and the activities of the Division of Work Among Negroes in the Appalachian counties.

This Division's effectiveness in providing black social services would not have been possible without a changing climate of opinion on social issues. Before 1900 few people understood how black social problems had an impact on the larger society. Public opinion in the South began to change as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, later called the National Conference on Social Welfare, met at Louisville in 1883, Atlanta in 1903, Richmond in 1908, and Memphis in 1914 and focused attention of these problems.

RC017792

Prior to 1900 these national conferences looked condescendingly at the South, offering gratuitous solutions to its social problems, but the Atlanta Conference of 1903 affirmed that the South was best suited to solve its social problems, and this affirmation spurred southern welfare workers to action. Social melioration was also a theme of the Southern Sociological congresses that met in racially integrated sessions in Nashville, Atlanta, and Memphis before World War I to discuss the plight of blacks.1

Public opinion began to change also in North Carolina as an annual state social welfare conference, meeting the first time in 1912, spurred the state to social action. The 1916 conference proposed a State Board of Charities and Public Welfare charged with starting statewide social welfare programs rather that giving passive supervision to local initiatives, as it had been doing. A. W. McAlister and Alfred M. Scales of Guilford County secured the creation of such a board in the 1917 legislature, supposedly the first proactive state welfare agency in the nation. This board had five subdivisions: county organization, child welfare, institutional supervision, mental health, and publicity. It appointed for each county a three-member board to advise the state board and local officials.2

Although the founders of the state board desired to improve black social conditions, the legislature would not fund black social services. Still, black speakers at the state conferences highlighted the need. A. M. Moore, who worked with Governor Thomas Bickett during the war to assure an equitable distribution of defense jobs to blacks, addressed the 1920 conference on their needs. Moore pleaded with the conference to help end lynching, restore the ballot, improve housing, abolish Jim Crow transportation, encourage white ministers to preach against racial injustice, provide equal access to education, obtain better benefits for black veterans, secure justice in the courts, and end derogatory references to blacks. That he could speak so frankly

indicated daring on his part and receptivity in his white listeners.3

Moore's pleas fell on the receptive ears of the Commissioner of Charities and Public Welfare, Kate Burr Johnson. A native of Morganton in the mountain county of Burke, Johnson was the first woman appointed to head a state agency in North Carolina. She took assorted courses at Queens College, the University of North Carolina, and the New York School of Social Work, but she never took a degree. She learned leadership by presiding over women's clubs and heading the state office of child welfare. Appointed commissioner in 1921, she supervised one social worker, two stenographers, and an annual budget of $15,000. When she resigned in 1930, she supervised a staff of sixteen and a budget of $30,000, and she had secured grants of $114,000 to support social services for blacks and rural people, no little achievement.4

One grant which Kate Johnson secured was $60,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund in 1924. Half of this three-year grant went to establish and operate the Division of Work Among Negroes, an agency of her board. The Division's purpose was to study black social problems and then help blacks organize locally to solve them.5

To use this grant money effectively Kate Johnson's main task was to find an able person to head the Division. She found a well-qualified person at St. Augustine's College, an Episcopal school for blacks in Raleigh. Her choice was a thirty-seven-year-old social sciences instructor, Lawrence Augustus Oxley, an "able and conscientious" man who headed this work for nine years until he became a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet." Born in Boston, Oxley attended a preparatory school in Cambridge and was later tutored by Harvard instructors. He enlisted in the army in World War I and rose in rank from private to first lieutenant. Serving as a special agent for the War Department, he investigated the morale of black troops in

training camps. Postwar opportunities drew him to work in the Harlem YMCA, with the War Camp Community Service as a field investigator, with the Episcopal National Student Council, and finally to St. Augustine's in 1920.6

Oxley was well prepared to work in the state's twenty-two Appalachian counties, but he was greatly hampered by the small black population and the racial attitudes of county officials. Some 30,000 blacks called Appalachia home in 1920, and about 38,000 in 1930, in each case, less than ten percent of the population. Although every Appalachian county had some blacks, only six counties had over 2,000 each: Buncombe, Burke, Henderson, McDowell, Rutherford, and Wilkes. By 1930 nearly half of the black Appalachian population was located in Buncombe County. Oxley's plan of social services required blacks to organize, set their own agendas, and hire a black social worker. Most counties did not have the size and concentration of black population to do this. So Buncombe's large black population, located mainly in Asheville, made it a focal point of Oxley's work in Appalachia.7

The racial attitudes of county officials also made it difficult to organize social work in Appalachia. As part of a child welfare study, Oxley surveyed the racial attitudes of clerks of court, superintendents of schools, farm agents, and county doctors in fourteen Appalachian counties with the fewest blacks. The forty officials surveyed unanimously believed blacks to be inferior beings who should be segregated from whites. Looking at education for blacks, about half of these officials believed that blacks could benefit from elementary education only, but about a sixth wanted no black schools at all, feeling that education only ruined blacks for menial work. Surprisingly, three officials wanted "educational and economic equality of opportunity" for them. When asked about blacks owning land, six officials opposed it; the other thirty-four wanted blacks to own land, but in segregated areas; they believed that land ownership

helped make blacks better citizens. The whites in two counties, Graham and Mitchell, were hostile toward blacks, and encouraged visiting blacks to depart before sundown. An official in Mitchell County wanted to employ a black cook, but he feared for her safety if he brought her in. The towns of Jefferson and Morganton prohibited blacks from owning land inside the town limits, so patterns of residential segregation were well established. Only a fourth of these county officials wanted blacks to vote; the other three-fourths opposed their voting. Officials in Cherokee, Macon, Jackson, and Yancey counties believed their black inhabitants to be above average in intelligence and behavior, and race relations were thought to be good.

As a result of the survey, Oxley discovered few major social problems. The clerks of court reported no dependent children who were wards of the county. Black families took care of their own orphans. Children were also well behaved. The few delinquent children to appear in juvenile court were sent home with their parents to be whipped, a punishment never ordered for white children. This parental whipping was effective because there were few repeat offenders. School attendance was generally better than in white schools, and the pupils were generally "courteous and bright." One problem that emerged was a different standard of sexual mores. Two county officials noted that sexual liaisons between married black leaders and single women did not hurt the reputations of either. These liaisons did, however, result in a higher rate of venereal disease than among similar classes of whites.8

The poor racial attitudes of mountain whites caused the first major problem for Oxley. In October, 1925, Governor Angus McLean called him to defuse an explosive situation in Asheville. Since the 1890s Asheville had attracted thousands of tourists and health-seekers, especially tubercular patients. Growing population and a real estate boom fostered a mushrooming construction industry. From 1920 to 1925 some

3,000 black workers from adjoining states flocked to jobs in Asheville, and they were inclined to crime. During 1925 some seventy percent of blacks convicted of crimes in the county courts were from nearby states.9

These conditions produced two rapes and an assault on white women by black men in September and October, 1925. These incidents outraged the white community, and a lynch mob ransacked the county jail in September searching for a black suspect whom the sheriff had moved to Charlotte only minutes ahead of the mob. Officers arrested 43 of the 200 in the mob, and 15 of them were later convicted and imprisoned. In October a black man raped one white woman and assaulted another, and he was apprehended and identified. Again a lynch mob assembled, but the white victim refused to accompany the mob to the jail to identify the accused, and it disbanded.10

White community feeling ran high over these incidents, and black leaders, before the second rapist was apprehended, were mortified to read in the October 29 Asheville *Citizen* an editorial addressed "To Asheville Negroes." The editorial charged that the *Citizen* had appealed for help from the black community to apprehend the second rapist, but blacks had made "no substantial answer to an appeal, which should have stirred you. YOU HAVE FAILED IN YOUR DUTY." The editor believed that blacks had "inherited channels of communication that carries news swiftly and secretly to the Negro community." "YOU MUST DO SOMETHING," demanded the editor. "There must be no other assault on a white woman by a Negro--one more and peril will stare you in the face--a fearful peril. It will be no respecter of persons--the powers and influences which have restrained it will no longer avail." The editor did not specify what the peril would be, but it seemed clear that it would take the form of indiscriminate, violent attacks on Asheville's 9,000 blacks.11

Black leaders were swift to react to this "negro-baiting." Representatives of Asheville's "better class" of blacks met on October 29 with a *Citizen* reporter and argued

that they could not be held accountable for the actions of some 3,000 black workers recently arrived in the city. These "boll weevils," as the newspaper called them, had "shown a tendency to run riot and have exercised a bad influence on their fellows." The black leaders pleaded "for Asheville to distinguish between the race and the individual" because they could not guarantee the good behavior of 3,000 itinerants. On October 30 these black leaders met with the city commissioners and presented a resolution condemning the *Citizen* editorial. The commissioners endorsed the leaders' plans for a mass meeting of blacks to be held the next Sunday to discuss ways of cooperating with law enforcement officers.12

The Sunday mass meeting was anticlimactic. Blacks voiced "open resentment" that they were not employed on the city police force. The main speaker was Lawrence Oxley, sent by Governor McLean to defuse the hostility of blacks. Oxley stressed the need for "straight and sane thinking," and he urged the crowd to "co-operate to the fullest" with city officials. He also cautioned people to be "careful in the matter of making radical statements that have no foundation in truth." The meeting adjourned without taking any formal action, and feeling in the white community subsided. Oxley's exact role in averting disaster is not fully known. It is known that he spent a week in Asheville working behind the scenes until danger passed. Although some of the black press criticized his role, others credited him with restoring sanity to the town.13

Closely related to this Asheville situation was Oxley's study of capital punishment of blacks in the state. Describing lynching as an extra-legal form of capital punishment, Oxley showed that lynching was subsiding. No blacks were lynched in the state from 1922 to 1928. He attributed this result to the strong resolve of Governors Thomas Bickett, Cameron Morrison, and Angus McLean to oppose mob violence. His case study of an Asheville mob showed this

gubernatorial resolve. In September, 1925, a mob stormed the Buncombe County jail to seize and lynch Alvin Mansell, the suspect in the first rape case indicated above. The mob destroyed jail property and released prisoners to find Mansell, but the sheriff had whisked him away to Charlotte just minutes before the mob struck. Officers were able to identify and apprehend 43 of the 200 people in the mob. After their trial, Judge A. M. Stack sentenced four of the leaders to three to eight years in state prison and eleven of them to county road terms up to one year, and to another five he gave suspended sentences. In sentencing the men, Judge Stack said, "God save the state that has to depend on mobs to protect its women. ... What the officers needed down there that night was a few machine guns." Some 6,000 Buncombe County petitioners pleaded with Governor McLean to grant clemency. The governor refused, saying that "Those who are asking for clemency for these men should remember that the crime they committed was one of the most serious known to our law--serious because the sovereignty of all the people of the State was trampled under foot and insulted by the mob. ... Our people are determined to suppress mob violence at any cost." 14

This mob violence was directed against Alvin Mansell whose case Oxley used to demonstrate the injustices of the court system in his publication, *Capital Punishment in North Carolina*. In 1925 the seventeen-year-old Mansell moved from Pickens, South Carolina, to Asheville to live with his older sister and work in a sanatorium. Having only a fifth grade education, the 120 pound Mansell had an I. Q of 53 and the mental age of a nine-year-old. The thirty-five-year-old white woman who accused him of rape sold flowers at the sanatorium where he worked. After walking a mile away from the sanatorium one morning, she alleged that a mulatto attacked her. After the attack she walked to a friend's house where, before a deputy sheriff, she described her assailant as being a thirty-five-year-old mulatto wearing a blue shirt, yellow trousers, and a felt hat. Later that afternoon she went to

the sanatorium and identified Mansell as her assailant although he did not match her earlier description in any particular. A court-appointed attorney defended Mansell, but the judge denied his motion for continuance to have time to secure witnesses. Mansell testified in his own behalf, denying his guilt and saying that he never left the sanatorium until mid-afternoon. Co-workers corroborated his testimony. The prosecutor introduced no evidence other that the victim's testimony, and nothing to corroborate her charges. After considerable deliberation, the jury found Mansell guilty, and the judge sentenced him to death.

Some 4,000 Buncombe citizens, believing a miscarriage of justice had occurred, petitioned the governor for clemency. At this point Lawrence Oxley's duties required him to prepare the facts of the case for presentation to the governor, for the Division of Work Among Negroes reviewed all requests for pardons and clemency for black prisoners. Oxley pointed out discrepancies in the victim's description of her assailant. Two doctors who examined her and the deputy sheriff who first questioned her, none of whom the prosecutor called to testify, found her earlier statements at sharp variance with her testimony in court. Six patients at the sanatorium, none of whom testified at the trial, also contradicted her testimony. Six jurors, reading the affadavits of these witnesses after the trial, requested the governor to commute Mansell's sentence to life because they had reasonable doubt of his guilt. Even a prosecuting attorney, after reading the new evidence, appealed to the governor for clemency. After considering the new evidence and appeals, Governor Angus McLean commuted the sentence from death to life in prison. McLean refused to pardon Mansell because he believed that the jury could have heard the new evidence and still found Mansell guilty. To Oxley, this case was an example of the miscarriage of justice that gave a higher percentage of death sentences to blacks. From 1909 through 1927, he discovered, the state convicted 198 people for capital crimes, 147 of

them black and 51 white. Of these 198 convicted, 94 were electrocuted, 81 blacks and 13 whites.15

While seeking justice for blacks, Oxley also worked on the county level helping blacks to organize themselves to identify and solve their own social problems. To do this Oxley needed the leadership provided by educated, middle class, black citizens, hopefully concentrated in an urban area for ease of communication. By 1930 Asheville's black population numbered 14,255, about forty percent of all blacks living in the mountains. It was an ideal place in the Appalachian counties for Oxley to focus his efforts. Accordingly, in 1925 Oxley encouraged the county to employ its first black social worker, Douglas Clarke, one of thirteen such workers in the state. By the summer of 1926 blacks had in operation Faith Cottage to care for unwed mothers. Oxley also secured the appointment in 1925 of a seven-member state advisory board to Kate Johnson. Included on the board was Dr. L. O. Miller, an Asheville physician who led the opposition to the Asheville *Citizen's* race-baiting in 1925. Oxley also encouraged the development of the YWCA in Asheville. Its director was Adela F. Ruffin who replaced Dr. Miller on the state advisory board in 1927.16 Because of the extreme individualism of Asheville blacks, Adela Ruffin felt that she had experienced an uphill struggle to organize the community for social improvement. "Asheville is a small <u>town</u> grown quickly--<u>too</u> quickly--to the <u>size</u> of a city. It has the problems and responsibilities of a city--without wide vision. It is a smug town....," complained Ruffin. "Its thinking is individualistic--to a surprising degree because, in most cases, the <u>individuals</u> have had so much training that we expect them to be different." 17

Given the purported lack of social vision in Asheville, Oxley was able to help this mountain area develop some vision and compassion. In 1931, as the economic depression deepened, Governor O. Max Gardner requested Oxley's services to help organize blacks for relief work across the state. Governor

Gardner believed that all relief work should come from local effort, and that the relief efforts should be segregated where possible, white agencies helping whites and black agencies helping blacks. To assist the governor, Oxley secured the appointment of a statewide advisory council of blacks and twelve district committees. Dr. L. O. Miller of Asheville was on this statewide committee also. One of the district committees was in Asheville, and it sponsored community mass meetings to enlist the active support of leaders.18 One person on the committee acted as an agent to determine relief needs and to minister to them through existing public agencies. The committee also contacted every employed black person to secure contributions to the Community Chest, the United Welfare Drive, and the Associated Charities. County and city agencies cooperated with white and black relief groups to operate a wood lot, community gardens, a small cannery, and street cleaning to provide relief for the unemployed. In return for working three days a week, the unemployed were given groceries adequate to feed their families for a week.19 By 1933 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation made some $5 million available to North Carolinians for unemployment relief. Oxley found it possible to enroll blacks in work relief programs "only and when trained, intelligent Negro workers are appointed as members of staffs of local relief agencies." He tried "to place such Negro leaders in strategic places throughout the State" and thus help blacks get relief money. Oxley's relief efforts constituted a model national program and won for him appointment to an advisory relief council to President Hoover.20

Oxley provided other minor services for the Asheville area, especially as a contact person in state government. When the city cut teachers' pay in 1933, black teachers were not told the reason, and they were afraid to ask the white superintendent whether the cuts applied to both races. The teachers asked Oxley to get the needed information in

Raleigh. Oxley also secured from the American Legion, to which he belonged, gifts for some forty-three black patients in the veterans' hospital at nearby Oteen. Oxley also referred requests for mountain summer experiences for black children to people in Asheville who took children into their homes in the summer.21

While Oxley's local initiatives were beneficial to Asheville, his work to establish and support statewide agencies and institutions also promised assistance to Appalachian blacks. A major concern of Oxley's was the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents. In 1925 the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs contributed $25,000 to establish the North Carolina Industrial Home for Colored Girls at Efland. This home had a dormitory for twenty girls and facilities for teaching domestic science and sewing. Juvenile courts committed twelve girls there in 1926. Oxley and an association of white women lobbied the legislatures from 1927 to 1933 to have the state assume control of the facility, but they were able to secure only a $2,000 annual appropriation. The state had more interest in the rehabilitation of delinquent boys, for the 1925 legislature created the Morrison Training School at Hoffman. The $25,000 appropriation provided for the purchase of 300 acres and the erection of four buildings to which the courts assigned 200 boys in 1933 and put 280 on the waiting list. The training school used a farm and a model dairy to teach the boys initiative and self reliance.22

Assistance for crippled children was another concern of Oxley's. In 1921 the state established an orthopedic hospital at Gastonia, but it was for whites only.23 In 1925 Benjamin N. Duke contributed $15,000 to this hospital to build a ward for twenty black children. The need was so great that he contributed $25,000 more to add thirty more beds by 1933. Social workers helped to organize local clinics to screen children whom the hospital might help.24

Another need was training for black social workers. Mecklenburg County hired the first black social worker, Hattie Russell, in 1919. By 1933 local governments employed about forty black social workers across the state. This was a completely new field for blacks, few of whom were educated in social work, and most of whom had, at best, only some college. Oxley's Division of Work Among Negroes sponsored annual three-day institutes to train social workers. The 1926 institute, for example, enrolled seventy-three students who listened to inspirational speakers and attended classes. The classes were on the history and objectives of social work, community organization, case work and record keeping, school attendance, juvenile court, and mental defectives.25

Oxley also helped to meet the need for formal social work education. The Atlanta School of Social Work, established in 1920, was the first such school for blacks in the South. The University of North Carolina School of Public Welfare was also established in 1920, but it enrolled only whites. Its faculty did, however, teach at the annual institutes and contribute to the founding of a religious school of social work at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. This school was the Bishop Tuttle Memorial Training School, established by the Women's Auxiliary of the Episcopal Church in 1925. Requiring two years of college for admission, the school provided a three-year curriculum, and some twenty students were graduated by 1930.26

Oxley's work in North Carolina ended in 1934 when he accepted an offer from Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to work in her department to improve employment opportunities for blacks. From 1925 to 1934 Oxley had directed a model state program to provide much-needed social services for North Carolina blacks. Included in this program were services for blacks in Appalachian counties. Concentrated mainly in Buncombe County, these services included mediation of racial conflict, support for anti-lynching activities, better treatment of blacks in the criminal justice system, inclusion

of mountain blacks on state advisory committees, securing the employment of black social workers, and encouraging local unemployment relief. Oxley also encouraged the development of state-wide social services agencies open to Appalachian blacks. These included training schools, an orthopedic hospital, and social work education. This period of Oxley's leadership ushered in a new era of society's concern for its black citizens.

END NOTES

1 Elizabeth Wisner, *Social Welfare in the South From Colonial Times to World War I* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 125-134.

2 Lyda Gordon Shivers, "The Social Welfare Movement in the South: A Study in Regional Culture and Social Organization," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1935), 226-228; Frank J. Bruno, *Trends in Social Work, 1874-1956: A History Based on the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), 298-299.

3 North Carolina. State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. *Bulletin*, III (April-June, 1920), 28-33.

4 Raleigh *News and Observer*, February 19, 26, 1930, May 29, 1951.

5 Ibid., February 26, 1930; North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Bureau of Work Among the Negroes. Special Report, January 1 to March 31, 1925, in Commissioner's Office, Subject File, 1891-1952, Box 6, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

6 *Who's Who in Colored America* (1950), 404-405; *Washington Post*, July 5, 1973; John B. Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 15-20, 147; Ralph J. Bunche, *The Political Status of the Negro in the Age of FDR*, Edited by Dewey W. Grantham (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 625-626.

7 United States. Bureau of the Census. *Population* (1920), II, 735-745; (1930), III, 975-990.

8 "Attitudes Toward the Negro" in Alleghany, Ashe, Avery, Burke, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, and Yancey counties; Commissioner's Office, Subject File, 1891-1952, Interracial Cooperation, Rosenwald Study, 1929, Box 6, Records.

9 North Carolina. Board of Charities and Public Welfare. *North Carolina's Welfare Program for Negroes* (Special Bulletin Number 8, Raleigh, N. C., 1929), 13.

10 Asheville *Citizen*, September 20, 22, October 23, 24, 28, 1925.

11 Ibid., October 29, 30, 1925; North Carolina. Board of Charities and Public Welfare. *Capital Punishment in North Carolina* (Special Bulletin Number 10, Raleigh, N. C., 1929), 53-54.

12 Asheville *Citizen*, October 30, 31, 1925.

13 Ibid., November 2, 1925; Raleigh *News and Observer*, January 18, 1931; Lawrence A. Oxley to Gertrude Weil, November 6, 1925, Commissioner's Office, Subject File, 1891-1952, Box 5, Records.

14 *Capital Punishment*, 50-54.

15 Ibid., 54-55, 19-20.

16 North Carolina. Board of Charities and Public Welfare. *Biennial Report* (1924-1926), 40, 109, 132; ibid., (1926-1928), 110.

17 Adela F. Ruffin to Oxley, January 13, 1927, Division of Work Among the Negroes, General Correspondence-R, Box 230, Records.

18 *Biennial Report* (1930-1932), 100-101.

19 Raleigh *News and Observer*, February 8, November 1, 1931, January 2, 1932.

20 Oxley to Oscar DePriest, April 8, 1933, Division of Work Among the Negroes, General Correspondence-D, Box 230, Records.

21 Beulah M. Swepson to Oxley, October 9, 1933; Oxley to J. M. Caldwell, November 18, 1931; Oxley to Charles C. Middleton, June 19, 1929; Division of Work Among the Negroes, General Correspondence-S, C, M, Box 230, Records.

22 Wiley Britton Sanders, *Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina: A Rosenwald Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 8-9.

23 Roy M. Brown, *Public Poor Relief in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928), 157.

24 Sanders, *Negro Child Welfare*, 9, 40-41; *Biennial Report* (1924-1926), 129-130.

25 *Biennial Report* (1924-1926), 111-113.

26 Edyth L. Ross, ed., *Black Heritage in Social Welfare, 1860-1930* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), 427, 433, 463; Shivers, "Social Welfare," 209-211; *Biennial Report* (1924-1926), 114; ibid. (1932-1934), 88.

John L. Bell is a professor of history at Western Carolina University in Cullowhee, N. C.

APPALACHIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE HELD ON MARCH 23-25, 1990

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT (OERI)

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

REPRODUCTION RELEASE (Specific Document)

ERIC/CRESS AT AEL
1031 QUARRIER STREET, 2nd FLOOR
P. O. BOX 1348
CHARLESTON, WV 25325

I. **DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION**

Title: LAWRENCE A. OXLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICES FOR BLACKS IN NORTH CAROLINA'S APPALACHIAN COUNTIES.

Author(s): JOHN L. BELL

Corporate Source (if appropriate): _____ Publication Date: _____

II. **REPRODUCTION RELEASE**

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, Resources in Education (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche and paper copy (or microfiche only) and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce the identified document, please CHECK ONE of the options and sign the release below.

CHECK HERE ➧ ☑ Microfiche (4" x 6" film) and paper copy (8½" x 11") reproduction

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
[PERSONAL NAME OR ORGANIZATION
AS APPROPRIATE]
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

OR ☐ Microfiche (4" x 6" film) reproduction only

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
[PERSONAL NAME OR ORGANIZATION
AS APPROPRIATE]
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits. If permission to reproduce is granted, but neither box is checked, documents will be processed in both microfiche and paper copy.

"I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permission to reproduce this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC microfiche by persons other than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit reproduction of microfiche by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries."

SIGN HERE ➧

Signature: John L. Bell Printed Name: JOHN L. BELL

Organization: WESTERN CAROLINA UNIV Position: PROF. OF HISTORY

Address: DEPT. OF HISTORY Tel. No. (704) 227-7243

CULLOWHEE NC Zip Code: 28723 Date: 21 JUNE 90

III. **DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY INFORMATION** (Non-ERIC Source)

If permission to reproduce is not granted to ERIC, or, if you wish ERIC to cite the availability of the document from another source, please provide the following information regarding the availability of the document. (ERIC will not announce a document unless it is publicly available, and a dependable source can be specified. Contributors should also be aware that ERIC selection criteria are significantly more stringent for documents which cannot be made available through EDRS.)

Publisher/Distributor: _____

Address: _____

Price Per Copy: _____ Quantity Price: _____

IV. **REFERRAL TO COPYRIGHT/REPRODUCTION RIGHTS HOLDER**

If the right to grant reproduction release is held by someone other than the addressee, please provide the appropriate name and address:

_____

_____

EFF-53 (Rev. 4/86)

01779 2